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We take our leave of this book, with our hearty thanks to the author, and our earnest recommendation of the work itself to the attention of all scholars who would attain a thorough philosophical acquaintance with their mother tongue.

ART. II. *The Roman State, from 1815 to 1850.* BY LUIGI CARLO FARINI. Translated from the Italian, by the RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P. for the University of Oxford. London: John Murray. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE author of this work was born in the province of Ravenna, in 1812, and was educated for the medical profession. He became noted for his liberal opinions in politics, though he is not a republican, but a favorer of constitutional monarchy, belonging to the same school with Gioberti and Cesare Balbo, the distinguished author of *The Hopes of Italy*, who dedicated to him some letters on political subjects, and to whom, in return, this work is inscribed. These men have acquired a just fame for their temperate and judicious views of reform, and for the sound advice which they gave their countrymen, when as yet the yoke of despotism was heavy upon them, not to waste their strength in partial plots and insurrections, or to damage their cause by mad assaults upon religion, and by impracticable schemes for the establishment of a republic, but to watch and labor patiently for the great objects of constitutional freedom and Italian independence. But moderate as Farini's views were, he did not escape persecution from the harsh government of the late Pontiff, Gregory XVI., by whom he was twice sent into exile. He returned to his country under the general amnesty proclaimed by Pius IX., and, in March, 1848, he was appointed minister-substitute, or Under Secretary of State, for the Interior, in the first ministry created under the new constitution. He retained this post as long as his colleagues remained in power, and resumed it under the Mamiani ministry, in the following June. He also sat in the Council of Deputies, and Rossi subse-

quently appointed him Director of the Board of Health, from which office he was ejected by the Triumvirs of the Republic. He was reappointed when the French entered the city, and again displaced by the Triumvirate of Cardinals. Then he took refuge in Turin, where he now holds an appointment.

The history of the author is, to a considerable extent, a voucher for the character of his book. We were therefore prepared to find it worthy of the praise which Mr. Gladstone gives it in his preface, as a work of "great ability and sagacity," particularly remarkable for "its dispassionate and judicial calmness in reference to Roman affairs." It has been received with great favor in Italy, where it is treated as a work of authority, deserving credit for the excellent opportunities which the writer had for acquiring information, for the valuable documents which are inserted in it, and for "the frankness, fairness, and circumspection of the author's judgments upon political events and interests." The fact that an author and statesman of so much eminence as Mr. Gladstone, who has lately earned the thanks of the civilized world for his indignant exposure of the brutal tyranny of the Neapolitan government, has deemed it worthy to be translated and published in England, is in itself no slight testimony in its favor.

We are glad to find a trustworthy guide to any portion of the eventful history of the great revolutionary outbreak in Europe, in 1848. The contemporaneous accounts, as they appeared in the newspapers and other public journals, were so perverted by party spirit and a desire to enlist the sympathy of foreign nations on the one side or the other, and therefore so confused and contradictory, that many inquirers at a distance gave up the task of reconciling them with each other in despair. But the truth gradually creeps out as the passions kindled by those momentous events subside; and though the minds of many have been so preoccupied that they are slow to receive it, the publication of official documents, and the testimony of credible and dispassionate eye-witnesses, at last establish the facts in the case beyond the reach of skepticism. Till the landmarks of history are thus set up, it is idle to risk a judgment on the characters of the agents in the strife, or on the nature of the interests which were at stake. We shall be obliged to set up idols and pull them down again as rapidly as the movers of the first French Revolution installed the busts

of their heroes of a day in the Pantheon, and then thrust them out and dragged them through the mire, — till, growing ashamed of their own fickleness, they suddenly stopped, and left that temple of a nation's gratitude to its great men as empty as it remains to this day.

Pius the Ninth himself is the most striking of the recent instances of these sudden mutations of popular favor. Only three years ago, he was the object of universal veneration and gratitude, not only at Rome, but throughout the civilized world. The prints that were everywhere circulated of his fair and benignant, almost saintlike, countenance answered well to the general impression of his character. His subjects idolized him, and even the sternest Protestants could not refuse a tribute of gratitude and respect to that rare phenomenon, a reforming Pope. If he had died then, the general voice of Christendom would have sanctioned his canonization in a far shorter period than the cautious practice of the Church in modern times has established as a precaution against hasty judgment in placing any name on the calendar of saints. But one short year made a pitiable change, either in his character, or in the ability of the world to read it aright. He has sounded a lower depth in popular estimation even than his predecessor, the harsh and despotic Gregory. Satires and imprecations on him are now rudely scrawled on the walls of public buildings at Rome, through which may still be discerned the half-effaced inscription, *viva Pio Nono*. The languages of Italy and England have been ransacked for terms of reproach and insult to be heaped upon his administration and his name. He is now called a craven apostate to the cause of freedom and progress — the weak tool of Austria and bigoted Cardinals — the persecutor of his former friends, and the oppressor of his people.

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus. We do not believe that Pius was ever so good or so bad a Pope as he has been represented, though a fair estimate of his character would probably incline much in his favor. It is one recommendation of Farini's work, that it supplies a key to the Pontiff's character and the apparent inconsistencies in his conduct, not by what the writer gives as his own opinion, but by the materials furnished to enable the reader to form an opinion for himself. Unfortunately, the volumes now published bring

down the narrative only to the period of the assassination of Rossi and the flight of the Pope, in November, 1848; but a continuation is promised, which will be a history of the Triumvirate, the siege of Rome, and the reëstablishment of the Papal authority. We now propose to give an abstract of the work up to its present limit, not for the purpose of expressing our own views, but in order to lay before our readers a summary of the information afforded by the author, adopting for the moment his conclusions, and even his phraseology when it does not admit of abridgment.

After the pacification of 1815, the Papal government, more than any other court in Italy, evinced a disposition to protect the independence of the peninsula and to repel the encroachments of Austria. Cardinal Consalvi, an active and sagacious minister, remonstrated in a firm tone against the loss of the Papal territory beyond the Po, and the occupation of Ferrara and Comacchio as Austrian military posts. It is the nature of the Roman government to bend to necessity, but never to resign or forget her claims; and the Pope resented a partial restoration in the tone of one who was aggrieved rather than benefited by the success of the Allied Powers. But this disposition to restore every thing to the standard of 1790 operated to the detriment of the home government. The ecclesiastics returned to the civil offices of which they had been dispossessed. The tendency of the administration was retrograde, and the customs and institutions which had been reformed by the French were generally restored to their ancient footing, the few improved forms which were allowed to continue not harmonizing with the rest of the fabric. This state of things could not fail to excite general discontent, and the power of the government was sternly exercised to repress it. Educated persons, men of letters and science, were naturally most impatient for reform, and they bore the full brunt of persecution. Then, among others, Pellegrino Rossi, the chief ornament of the university of Bologna, was driven into exile, and soon acquired distinction at Paris, whence he returned as French ambassador to Rome, there to perish miserably by assassination. The Pope formally anathematized the sect of the Carbonari; but they had become too much imbued with French principles of philosophy to heed the now innocuous thunders of the Church. Then a rival

sect was established, that of the Sanfedists, to combat it with its own weapons.

“There had existed anciently a politico-religious association, called the *Pacifici*, or the *Santa Unione*, which took for its motto the text of the Gospel, “*Beati pacifici quia filii Dei vocabuntur*,” and was sworn to maintain the public peace at the risk of life. Perhaps in its origin Sanfedism was the development and amplification of a scheme of this kind ; its professed object was, to defend the Catholic religion and the privileges and jurisdictions of the Court of Rome, with the temporal dominion and the prerogatives of the Papacy, as well from the plots of innovators as from the aggressions of the Empire. This ideal Sanfedism was essentially cosmopolite, with a capacity of reaching, under different forms, all the points to which the hierarchical offshoots of the Church so marvellously spread. It was retrogressive, aiming at an absolute theocracy. It was, or seemed to be, national, by opposing the influence of the Empire. Those who held high office in the Church or in the State ; those who were in esteem for property, for high birth, or for wisdom ; those who were conspicuous for well-ordered life and firm belief, should have been the natural governors and moderators of the society ; but since all human designs deteriorate as they go into operation, so it easily happened that rank and dignity were held sufficient without merit or learning, fortune without the habit of employing it properly, nobility of origin without nobility of mind ; and that hypocrisy assumed the garb of religion, covetousness of loyalty. Hence there were many knaves, many impostors, and many scoundrels, who made use of the influence of the society for their personal advantage. Time brought about modifications, and Sanfedism grew worse while it grew older, as will presently be seen. In the mean time, it is well to fix the mind on this association, which held absolute and extreme principles together with retrograde political aims, and to place it in comparison with the sect of the Carbonari ; we may then well conceive how many feuds, and what standing conflict, must needs have been the result.” Vol. i. pp. 10 – 12.

The revolutions of 1820 took place at Naples and in Piedmont ; but the Carbonari of the Papal States, lacking either numbers or courage, did not second the movement, and it was crushed by Austrian intervention. The feeling of discontent was naturally exasperated by this failure, by the intrusion of foreigners, and by the severe punishments inflicted on those who had favored the outbreak. The strife of the Carbonari with the Sanfedists was aggravated, and the war between

them was waged mainly with the assassin's knife. The government had no longer any moral power over its subjects, and the people could not contend successfully against it because they wasted their strength in civil feuds and dissensions.

"Furthermore, there were arrested and given over to Austria, some inhabitants of Romagna, accused of complicity with Gonfalonieri, and the other distinguished Lombards who were afterwards condemned to the martyrdom of the Spielberg. Most fatal errors! from whence it followed, that the Liberals confounded in their hatred the foreign oppressor, and the feeble ecclesiastical government, which appeared to be his tool.

"Many exiles from the Pontifical States found a near refuge in Tuscany, where the Grand-duke Ferdinand generously gave them shelter, and was so wise and moderate in his administration that it stood in glaring contrast with that of Romagna. The exiles, in their dispersion, related their recent calamities, detailed the base and unjust proceedings of the Pontifical government, perhaps coloring them with spite. There was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxiety for public prosperity; Rome was a cesspool of corruption, of exemptions and of privileges; a clergy made up of fools and knaves in power, the laity slaves; the treasury plundered by gangs of tax farmers and spies; all the business of government consisted in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the Liberals. A great blunder this in government, to send abroad a multitude of exiles, who, travelling from land to land, make a display of their misery and excite the sympathy of the nations, expose to view the sores of a state, give it a bad name in other countries, and likewise, by the ties of family and of sect, keep alive within it perpetual hates and hopes. When the devout Pontiff Pius VII. gave up his soul to God on the 20th of August, 1823, the spirit of party was corroding the bonds of society, especially in the four Legations, and the Pontifical government had little either of love at home, or of respect abroad." Vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

Cardinal Della Genga was elected Pope, and took the title of Leo XII., when he was sixty-four years of age, and so infirm that he told his friends, who had intimated to him their purpose of raising him to the Poppedom, "Do not think of me, for you would elect a corpse." But when fairly seated on the throne, the energy of his mind overcame the weakness of his physical frame. He carried back the government still farther than his predecessor had done to the

principles of the olden time ; but he remedied many evils in the state by the vigor of his administration. His watchful and active spirit infused new life into every department ; and the excitement and labor so revived his strength, that he was able to leave his palace to visit hospitals, jails, and monasteries, and seemed to multiply himself that he might suffice for all his duties. He brought again all the institutions of education and beneficence under the direction of the clergy, and enlarged the clerical immunities and jurisdictions. He deprived the Jews of much of the toleration which they had hitherto enjoyed, and treated them with so much rigor, that the wealthiest among them were forced to emigrate, and carry their property and enterprise to other climes. Some of the provinces were infested with banditti, and the stringent measures adopted to suppress them gave more offence than the previous insecurity of property and life. Then the policy was changed, and the robber bands were broken up through agreements made with their captains, and by granting pensions for life to the chief offenders. Political assassinations, always the opprobrium of Roman politics, had become frequent, and secret combinations were more powerful than the government. All the odious secret machinery of the police was therefore set in motion to ferret out the criminals, and when detected, they were punished without mercy. The public voice confessed that the punishment was just ; but the employment of spies and informers, the iniquitous modes of inquiry and trial, and the arbitrary conduct of the judges, nursed the public discontent, and averted attention from the good that was accomplished.

“ Bernetti was a clear-headed man, keenly attached to the independence of Rome and to clerical power, and an adept in government after the Roman fashion. Leo named him Secretary of State in January, 1827, and received from him effective aid both in council and in action, conformably to his own mode of policy and administration. He dogged and hunted down the enemies of the throne and the altar, as they called the Liberals, but not in such a way as to place himself wholly at the mercy of those dangerous friends the Austrians, or to promote the aggrandizement of the Imperial fortunes at the expense of the States of the Church. Leo XII. and Cardinal Bernetti preserved in its original purity the anti-imperial spirit of Sanfedism ; and although the Pope publicly blessed the Austrian troops on their return from Naples, yet there is no doubt that he did not like their scouring the Pontifical dominions.

“Truth requires me to relate, that, in the reign of Leo XII., and under Bernetti’s administration, some good and useful acts were done. There were abuses removed, and persons guilty of them punished; endeavors were made to set in order the hospitals and charitable institutions of Rome; streets, bridges, and other public works, were completed or commenced; general security was reestablished in those districts that had been plundered by brigands; method was introduced into the expenditure, and the land-tax was diminished by a third; a sinking fund for extinguishing the public debt was established on an adequate basis. These were benefits which might have gained for the Papal authority the strength both of gratitude and of love, if, when the people were presented with them, they had been gratified simultaneously with those institutions and civilizing laws which others, even though subjects of absolute monarchies, enjoyed; and if they had not been accompanied with superfluous severities and acts of political injustice. But the people could not appreciate the good which in certain respects the government was effecting, because it still steered the vessel of state against the current of the age, for the advantage of a caste, sometimes of a clique.” Vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

Leo XII. died in 1829, “and bequeathed to his successor more of discontent among the laity, and resentment among the Liberals, than he had himself inherited from his predecessor.”

Passing over the short and uneventful administration of Pius VIII., who survived his elevation to the papal chair only a year and a half, we come to the pontificate of Gregory XVI., who was chosen while all Europe was still in the feverish state into which it had been thrown by the French revolution of 1830. The metropolis was greatly agitated, and there was even a partial insurrection, which was put down, after a scuffle, by the Papal guards, while the Cardinals were in conclave for his election. Mauro Capellari, a Carmelite monk, and General of that order, was esteemed a learned theologian, and had written valuable works about the Church; but he had had no political experience when he was chosen Pope, and took the title of Gregory XVI. Two days after he ascended the throne, a revolution broke out at Bologna, and was entirely successful without bloodshed, the Papal troops either joining the insurgents, or giving up their arms without resistance. A provisional government was appointed, a civic guard established, the tricolor flag was

hoisted in place of the Papal arms, and the temporal dominion of the Pope was declared to be forever at an end. Never was there a more striking exhibition of the pitiable weakness of a government and its total incapacity of standing alone. The insurrection spread rapidly in Romagna and the lower provinces, "without effort of the rebels, without resistance from the soldiery, so that it appeared a public merry-making rather than a political revolution." In Modena and Parma, also, the government fell without a struggle; in Rome, there was great bewilderment and alarm, but no outbreak. Public tranquillity was little affected by the change; "the national guards kept holiday; there were tricolor flags, illuminations, hymns, and harangues more than enough; in fact, it was a stage revolution." The brothers Napoleon and Louis Bonaparte, sons of the ex-king of Holland, had participated in the conspiracy, and wished to share the triumph. But the insurgents were anxious to secure the favor of the new king of France, and, to avert any cause of suspicion and jealousy on his part, they would not allow the two brothers to take any open part in public affairs, or even to serve as private soldiers. They were sent to Forli, where the elder fell sick and died. The seat of the new government was fixed at Bologna, whither the insurgent provinces sent deputies, who met on the 26th of February, and organized an administration, appointing Vicini the president of a council of ministers.

Vicini published a manifesto of the revolution, which is here inserted entire, and in which, our author observes, "amidst erroneous ideas, paltry municipal complaints, pettifogging sophisms, political blunders, and puerile declamation, there are nevertheless true allegations both of facts and of grievances." The gist of the whole lies in a single sentence:—"Under the rule of the Popes, not only were we without fundamental laws, without national representation, but we had no provincial councils, no municipal authorities, and no security for person or property." Had the revolutionists shown any political discretion, by making proper diplomatic arrangements, or even manifested any public spirit or unanimity of sentiment, they might have held their ground, or made terms with the Pope which would have been a permanent benefit to the country. But they were actuated by a petty jealousy of each other, and by overweening confidence in their cause and

in assistance from France. The several revolutionized States had but one interest ; but they kept apart, talked about non-intervention, and would not combine their means of defence or succor each other. So they were overpowered in detail by a handful of Austrians. The Pope made no attack upon them, for he had no means ; and when he sent Cardinal Benvenuti to them, with the powers of legate *a latere*, to try for a compromise, they seized him and held him prisoner. While thus bidding defiance to their enemies, they made no adequate provision for defence. Only a few generous youth enlisted in the army, and no munitions of war were obtained, no fortresses garrisoned. The result might have been foreseen. An Austrian detachment of only 800 men surprised the provisional government of Parma, defeated the little force that had been collected, and restored Maria Louisa to her old authority. The turn of Modena came next ; and in three days' time, General Zucchi, who had the command of a few troops there, was driven off into the Papal territory, and the Duke was reinstated. When the fugitives came to Bologna for shelter, the infatuated provisional government there, expecting daily to be attacked, and needing every man and gun that could be had, refused them permission to enter except without arms. Then the Austrians came, and the government fled to Ancona, giving Zucchi the command, at the last moment, of their little army. "It was in great part composed of young volunteers ; the troops of the line were few, the cavalry fewer still, the artillery scantiest of all." The commander was brave and able, and effected all that was possible with such means ; he held the Austrian force, which numbered a little more than 5,000 men, at bay for a day or two, repelled two attacks, and was not driven out of Rimini till nightfall. But the craven government at Ancona did not wait to hear whether he was victorious or defeated. They released Cardinal Benvenuti, and made terms with him, that the Liberals should lay down their arms, and the authority of the Pope be restored, stipulating only that a general amnesty should be granted, and a safe-conduct to those who preferred to emigrate. Mamiani, afterwards so famous, was the only member of the provisional government who would not subscribe this disgraceful capitulation. "The end resembled the beginning ; all was precipitancy, pliancy, and meanness of spirit."

The population of Parma, Modena, and the revolted Roman provinces, taken together, was at least equal, probably much superior, to that of the United States, as it was at the beginning of our Revolutionary war. It was concentrated, there was considerable wealth among the people, and they had all the means within their reach for making a vigorous defence. Why, then, were these States overrun, and the government of the people put down, by a mere handful of Austrian soldiers? There can be but one answer to this question. The Italians, at least in this part of Italy, are willing to be free, they can protest loudly against the tyranny of their rulers, and can form endless conspiracies against them. But they have not energy and patriotism enough to combine and make a manful fight for freedom. General Howe had as large a force under him, when he was besieged in Boston by insurgent New England, as sufficed to put down the whole insurrection in central Italy. It should be added, also, that the grievances which drove our fathers into rebellion were not half so serious as those under which Italy has groaned for centuries. If equal provocation had been given, the old women in New England with their broomsticks would have made a better fight against the royal governors with their forces, than did three or four millions of the Italian people against the foreigners who came to whip them back into slavery. We do not say this in the spirit of a vainglorious nationality; the English would have done as much, the French would have done as much. But there is a defect in the character of the Italian people, whether inherent, or the effect of centuries of oppression and misrule, which renders them incapable of achieving their freedom by their own efforts. They depend on foreign aid, are disappointed, and then sink back with hardly a struggle under the despotism from which they had for a moment emerged. This has thrice happened within the lifetime of the present generation; in 1820, in 1831, and again in 1849. The proof may be found in a comparison of the forces raised on each occasion with the whole number of the people, and in the want of steadiness and perseverance evinced in the conflict.

But this digression has been forced from us; we return to Signor Farini, and the history of the Roman States under Gregory XVI. The capitulation of Ancona was not ob-

served, either by Austria or the Pope. The latter repudiated the amnesty, and sentenced General Zucchi to death, though the punishment was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. Thirty-eight other persons were excepted from the general pardon that was afterwards published. But the great powers of Europe, seeing the inability of the Pope to maintain himself, and desirous of avoiding the dissension among themselves which would ensue if any one of them should assume the protectorate of the Papal dominions, united in a recommendation of such measures of reform as seemed most likely to secure the permanent tranquillity of the Roman States. The principal improvements thus recommended by Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, were detailed in a paper presented in their name by Count Lutzow, the Austrian ambassador at Rome, on the 10th of May, 1831, and strongly pressed upon the Papal government. It was a striking proof of the weak and disorganized condition of that government, that reforms in it should be advised by such powers as Austria and Russia. But the measures recommended were not very sweeping; they were, that the laity should be generally admitted to the administrative and judicial functions, that municipalities should be instituted, elected by the people, and municipal privileges be granted, that Provincial Councils should be organized, and that a central board should be created, charged with the audit of the public accounts and the care of the public debt. Slight as these recommendations were, the Pope deemed them excessive, and did not comply with half of them; and as the advice given was generally known, this sullen and imperfect compliance only increased the public discontent.

“By way of specimen of that participation which had been claimed for laymen in the government, they were allowed to preside over one or two of the northern provinces, but with limited powers, and with the title of Prolegate, which signified that they held office provisionally, and in lieu of Cardinal Legates. Lastly, on the 5th of July, was published a *motu proprio*, respecting Municipalities, which, instead of the large concessions proposed in the Memorandum, decreed that the original nomination of the Municipal Councillors should belong to the government, that then the Councils should be renewed in the method and form pointed out, and should be filled up by self-election, but the Government

should always retain full power to accept or refuse the Councilmen elect, as well as those proposed for the magistracy. Nothing was to be discussed in the Municipal Councils without a previous approval by the Government of the subjects and order of the debate; the nomination of Municipal Officers, until it had the sanction of Government, was to be null; an officer of Government was to be present at the sittings of the Municipal Councils, and no resolution was to be valid without the approval of the President of the Province. The *motu proprio*, though it was to be law for the whole State, never took effect in Rome, which remained, as heretofore, without a corporation; the Municipalities in the neighborhood of the capital continued to depend on the so-called 'Congregation of good government;' and thus was disregarded even the recommendation, given in the Memorandum, of uniformity in the improvements, and in the laws for the entire State. In short, Rome followed her own bent, and not the wishes and plans of the Ambassadors." Vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

We need not dwell upon the subsequent acts of Gregory's government, which lasted till June, 1846. It was consistent throughout, being characterized only by stubborn opposition to all change, and by the harshness, often amounting to cruelty, with which it repressed the movements of the ever-restless Liberals. The occupation of Ancona by the French, a measure adopted by them to deprive Austria of the exclusive protectorate of the Roman States, cheered the disaffected for a short time with the hope of more effective aid in counteracting the despotic course of the administration. But Casimir Perier was then prime minister of France, and his policy was too conservative and pacific to admit any serious quarrel with the Papal and Austrian powers. The domestic government at Ancona was soon restored entirely to the Pope; and though the French troops remained there for some years, it was only as the Pope's auxiliaries. They held the forts, but did not meddle with civil affairs. The Papal government strengthened itself by taking two Swiss regiments into pay, and by increasing the number of domestic troops, though the finances of the state could ill sustain the additional burden. Measures were taken to bring out by military discipline the whole force of the sect of Sanfedists, and of all others who, from political or religious motives, upheld the existing government. Thus was organized a kind of local militia, composed exclusively of furious partisans of the

Church, who were called the Centurions, the name being taken from an ancient institution of the Papal States that had been destroyed by Sixtus V.

“Cardinal Brignole, who had come to Bologna as Commissioner Extraordinary instead of Albani, showed great zeal in the foundation of this secret militia, which remained in the condition of a clandestine society in the Marches, in Umbria, and in the other Lower Provinces, but in the four Legations they assumed the name and uniform of Pontifical Volunteers. These Centurions and Volunteers obtained their recruits among the meanest and most criminal of the people. They had the privilege of carrying arms, were exempt from certain municipal taxes, and were influenced by fanaticism, not only political but likewise religious, because certain bishops and priests enrolled and instructed them. In some towns and castles they domineered with brutal ferocity; at Faenza particularly, where Sanfedism had of old struck deep root, they scoured the place, in arms to the teeth, like a horde of savages in a conquered country; the police was in their hands, so that they practised insolence and excess with impunity; the country people and servants resisted the authority of their masters, nor was there any means of remedy, for those in power were either of the same fry, or else were afraid of the excesses of this dominant faction. It avenged the wrongs of the Government, those of religion, those of the sect and of every member of it, and it lighted up in Romagna a very hell of frantic passions. I have only to add, that these Centurions were also political assassins. I have already told, and I sorrowfully repeat it, how the Liberal sects of Romagna had begun at an early date to imbrue their hands in the blood of their party opponents. The example was fatal; blood brought forth blood.” Vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

As early as 1831, Giuseppe Mazzini, a young exile from Genoa, conceived the idea of organizing all the political refugees from Italy into one body, which should have the direction in future of all plots against the existing governments, instead of allowing the plots to be conducted, as formerly, by those who had escaped suspicion and remained at home. Hitherto, the refugees in foreign lands had waited for the movements of their confederates in Italy, standing in readiness to aid them when the hour arrived, but not assuming to prompt or direct actual measures. Mazzini wished to frame plots for Italy, and to place their centre, abroad. The refugees were to be the soul of them, and not mere auxiliaries;

he himself was to be their head. The project was drawn, as Farini remarks, from the history of the turbulent Italian republics of the Middle Ages, the exiles from one of which used to busy themselves with endeavors to raise money and troops in rival cities, and to draw other courts into the quarrel, in order afterwards to act vigorously with the remains of their faction at home, in an attempt to unseat the party in power, and reëstablish their own dominion. To his new sect, which was designed to absorb all the others, Mazzini gave the name of *Young Italy*, as if in token of a new creed and new objects; and he excluded from it every man who was over forty years old, as if to show that he wished enthusiasm rather than judgment or experience.

“He enjoined obedience, and surrender of will and of strength, on the part of every member, to the orders of their chiefs; he arranged that all should have arms, ammunition, and military training. This *Giovine Italia* was a mixture of Germanism and Christianity, of Romanism and mysticism, through which the old purely political sects were transmuted into an association, in part political, in part social, and in part religious. The Carbonari, it is true, were for the most part either indifferentists or followers of Voltaire; but that old sect bore more enmity to the priests than to the religion of our fathers; the new one had a positive religious faith, not avowed, it is true, or determined, but in substance heretical with reference to the Roman Catholic creed. And as in philosophy and in religion, so likewise it was positive in politics, whether with respect to an organization for the nation, or to the form of government, or to its social institutions; choosing as its idol Unity for the first, a Republic for the second, and pure Democracy for the third.

“The emigrants and exiles of 1831 and 1832, who were possessed of the qualities that Mazzini wanted, namely, youth, enthusiasm, and daring, enrolled themselves in the *Giovine Italia*; and those who, belonging to the Pontifical States, obtained leave to come home, became propagators of the institution, and found abundant materials for proselytism in the province of Romagna, where the sectarian temper and customs were inveterate, and where the operations of the Sanfedist faction had provoked a vindictive spirit. The refugees gave to the conspirators at home hopes of speedy deliverance; nor did they simply propose to change the government from being absolute and narrow to one constitutional and large, or to effect alterations in a single Italian Province, but rather to conquer the entire country and govern it

according to the creed of the *Giovine Italia*, that is to say, as a republic, democratical, one and indivisible. War was then to be waged upon all the Governments, and upon all the Princes of Italy; war upon the very idea of a Prince or of a Monarch; war upon the Austrians; war upon Europe, the guardian and avenger of treaties. *Giovine Italia* begged the *obolus* out of the lean purses of the refugees — such were its revenues; it enlisted on foreign soil, with an oath of life and death, Italian exiles and young Poles, fearless for their lives, and forward to expose themselves to conflict — such were its armies; it conspired with the republicans of France — such were its allies; it despatched conspirators and agitators into Italy — such were its ambassadors and diplomatists. And as if its movements to and fro, its levies of money, its purchases of arms, and its other numerous indications, any single one of which is more than enough in the eyes of a modern police, did not suffice to give an inkling of its machinations, this *Giovine Italia* printed a Journal, in which the principles and aims of the association were frankly declared." Vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

Early in 1834, Mazzini made the first attempt to reduce his new plan to action. He had collected in Switzerland a small store of arms and ammunition, and about a thousand refugees, either Italian, Polish, or German. A revolution in Geneva was to be their first achievement; but the authorities of that place got wind of the conspiracy, and easily baffled it without bloodshed. Then these doughty crusaders, determined to make a revolution somewhere, marched upon Savoy, under General Ramorino, and captured a Piedmontese custom-house at Annecy, having dispersed a few carabineers and custom-house officers, who formed its garrison. There they erected a tricolor flag, and invited the people to join them; but the people did not stir, and after waiting in vain for them about three hours, the Mazzinians concluded to depart, not knowing exactly whither. Before night, they were straggling about in all directions, with the king's troops close behind them, hunting them over the frontier. They had skilfully concerted their measures with the disaffected within the province. "On the same day, about a hundred men, almost all of them Savoyards, moved from Grenoble upon Echelles, shouting 'Long live the *Giovine Italia*.' They made prisoners of the carabineers who defended the custom-house, and intended to march forward against Chambéry, when a

company of Piedmontese soldiers assaulted them by night, put them to flight, and drove them back into the French territory. The enterprise was never more than smoke, and in smoke it ended." The only effect of this ridiculous undertaking was, to bring discredit and contempt upon the republican cause throughout Italy, to discourage its adherents, and to put the government upon the track, so that it was able to apprehend and banish a number more of them. Mazzini's army abroad increased about as fast as it dwindled at home.

Wiser counsels and more judicious friends were not wanting to the cause of Italian freedom and independence. Even Mamiani, and others among the proscribed, censured the foolish projects of Mazzini, and advised the Liberal party to beware of them. Gioberti and Balbo, both from Turin, the one in exile and the other at home, formed almost simultaneously the same views of Italian politics, and strove to impress them upon their countrymen through the press. They are able and eloquent writers, and their publications had a great effect upon public opinion. Both advocated the formation of a great confederacy of all the Italian States, having either the Pope or the king of Sardinia as its head; independence of all foreign powers, and the establishment of constitutional governments, being parts of their scheme. They recommended all practicable modes of conciliation, and maintained that there was no insurmountable obstacle to perfect concord between the people and their princes. Gioberti earnestly taught, that conspiracies and partial insurrections would not hasten, but retard, the redemption of Italy; that the Catholic religion was not opposed to any honorable plans of freedom, but blessed and sanctified them; that the sanctity of the end did not justify unrighteous measures; and that the Liberals should give up their fruitless plots and their irreverence towards the Church, and aim to draw their sovereigns along with them in the paths of reform and independence.

These opinions, which were also, in the main, those of Massimo d'Azeglio, made many converts, and the party of the reformers soon outnumbered that of the revolutionists. Still, Farini says, there was great discouragement, and that, with many, discouragement led to indifference. But the prospect was not all gloomy. Great hopes were entertained of the reigning Archduke of Tuscany, a liberal and humane prince,

and of Charles Albert of Savoy, a chivalrous sovereign, once imbued with liberal opinions, and still devoted to schemes for improving the welfare of his subjects. The government of Gregory XVI. was, by universal consent, detestable ; but he was old, and the leading powers of Europe had recognized the necessity of reform in his dominions ; so it might be hoped with some reason, that a new Pope would have a new system, and introduce some essential reforms. Of the college of Cardinals our author speaks with much respect, for though they are not remarkable for political ability or administrative talent, yet with a few exceptions, "it is but fair to bear testimony to their sincere piety, and to the purity of their lives."

In Gregory's time, all the high offices of state, including even the department of war and the direction of the police, were in the hands of Cardinals or Prelates. The public funds were in great disorder ; the debt exceeded thirty-seven millions of crowns, and there was an annual deficit of half a million. The economical system was bad, obstructing the growth of public wealth, and the large entailed estates and *majorats* hindered the circulation of property. The judicial system was complicated and bad, the administration of justice being slow, costly, and uncertain. Of the Inquisition at Rome, Farini remarks, that it has never had such an ill name for cruelty as the Spanish Inquisition, and "it has not in our day made itself remarkable either for acts of ferocity or multiplied annoyances." The number of persons persecuted for political reasons by the government was very great ; at the close of Gregory's pontificate, the exiles, together with those proscribed and under sentence, amounted perhaps to two thousand. Several thousands more were *under warning*, as it was called, and were thus excluded from all offices of honor or emolument. The aggregate population of the Papal States is about three millions.

The following is given by Signor Farini as a summary of the state of public opinion at the time of the death of Gregory XVI.

"The higher nobility of Rome, its Dukes and Princes, revered the Papacy, as an institution to which they owed their fortune, rank, and ancient privileges ; but they were not friendly to the absolute sway of the sacerdotal caste, distinguished neither for diligence,

learning or virtue. The Provincial nobility were either disinclined or positively hostile to the Papal Government, or else indifferent about it. In the Provinces, not a few nobles had joined in plots.

"The higher class, independent in fortune and circumstances, was limited at Rome, and not attached to the Government; the clients and retainers of Cardinals and Prelates were numerous; so were the traffickers in abuses. There were plenty of court-followers, censorious and double-faced, an effeminate crowd, voluptuous and effete, servile to its masters, but without heart, without honor, without spirit.

"The artisans and lower class in Rome were perhaps attached to the Pontiff, but little to the Prince, and to the Government not at all; they were proud of the Roman name, uncivilized, and quarrelsome. In the provincial towns, the populace had mingled in the sects, and were daring partisans. The country people were everywhere peaceful, devoted to the Head of their religion, reverent to their priesthood, only discontented at paying too much.

"The minor clergy, whether of the capital or of the provinces, were single-minded, little instructed, given to complain of the abuses at Rome, and of the badness of the Government, and with few exceptions, neither turbulent nor immoral; but that portion of it, more foreign than Roman, which lives and fattens, or hopes to live and fatten, upon abuses and on power and honors, was false, hypocritical, sectarian, and factious, too, as occasion served.

"In a word, the Government was far from strong in the attachment of its subjects, or in public opinion.

"Abroad it was the object of sharp reproach, and of sarcasm; its character was exceeding bad; the world believed that there must be fresh troubles, and that prompt and substantial reforms were required. The diplomatic body stood in dread of insurrection and revolution." Vol. ii. pp. 166, 167.

Gregory died on the 1st of June, 1846; and on the 16th of that month, after the Cardinals had been but two days in conclave, they elected to the papacy Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, who took the name of Pius IX. It was thought probable that Lambruschini might be chosen, as many of the Cardinals were indebted to him for their rank and fortune, and he had many partisans in the court and city. But, "when the Sacred College is assembled for business, prudence outweighs in it both private inclination and party spirit, to a much greater degree than is commonly believed;" and in this conclave, many wisely believed that it was essential to select one who was a native of the State, and not far advanced in years, who

would see the necessity of correcting abuses and making some reforms. Yet on the first scrutiny, Lambruschini obtained more votes than any other person, so that his election seemed probable. But the Cardinals opposed to him entered into a combination, and chose Ferretti.

“The curiosity of the populace always induces them to crowd to the *Piazza del Quirinale* when the Conclave is sitting, in order to observe the smoke that issues from one of the chimneys when they burn the tickets, which have been used in scrutinies leading to no result. On the evening of the 16th, they did not perceive the *fumata*, as it is called, and they concluded that an election had been made. At the same time there went abroad, no one knows how, a report that the new Pope was Cardinal Gizzi, who was in credit and esteemed, because, as compared with the Cardinals Vannicelli and Massimo, he had governed his province well, and had been praised for it by Massimo d’Azeglio in his tract upon the events of Romagna. This report caused great joy in Rome.

“The happy intelligence spread through the neighboring districts, and came as far as Ceccano, the native place of Cardinal Gizzi, where his family was complimented with visits of congratulation. When, on the morning of the 17th, the new Pope was announced in the accustomed manner from the great balcony of the Quirinal, the public mind was thrown into suspense. It had at first unbent itself to rejoicing at the supposed election of Cardinal Gizzi, who was in esteem as a prudent administrator, whereas its judgment was necessarily at fault respecting Cardinal Mastai, as he was unknown in matters of government. And when, on the following day, Pius IX. repaired, according to custom, to the Vatican, to give thanks to the Most High, and again on the day of his enthronization, which was the 21st, the public demonstrations were not materially different from those which the Roman people usually make on such occasions.” Vol. ii. pp. 173, 174.

“Cardinal Mastai Ferretti was born at Sinigallia on the 13th of May, 1792, of a noble and much respected family, and had been trained and instructed by the Fathers of the order of the Scolopi, in the College of Volterra, where he boarded from 1803 to 1809. Being at Rome in 1815, he made application in the month of June for admittance into the corps of the Pope’s Guard of nobles; which he failed to obtain in consequence of his infirm health, subject as he was to suffer from epileptic fits. In May, 1816, he assumed the ecclesiastical habit, and applied to the study of theology, in which he had for his teacher the pious and

learned priest Graziosi. In 1818, he went to his native place, Sinigallia, upon a missionary tour, in company with Monsignor Odescalchi, who was afterward Cardinal, and died a Jesuit. After his return to Rome, he asked to be ordained priest, and it was granted, on condition that he should say mass only in private and with a priest-assistant, because he still continued delicate in health. But he afterward improved to such a degree, that, after he had celebrated his first mass on Easter Day, 1819, he was not for a long time troubled by his accustomed malady. He then became coadjutor to a stall in the Collegiate Church of *S. Maria in Via Lata*, and President of the Hospital of *Tata Giovanni* for poor lads; in these offices he distinguished himself by a remarkable piety, and left an excellent example and reputation. In 1823, he went to Chili in the capacity of secretary to Monsignor Muzi, who was despatched thither on account of some questions respecting the clergy; and he not only filled his office well, but also preached and gave instructions in the truths of the Gospel. In 1825, he returned to Rome, and was appointed to govern the Apostolic Hospital of *San Michele a Ripa*. He deserved well of that establishment, and grew so much in reputation, that in 1827, Leo XII. named him Archbishop of Spoleto. Next Gregory XVI. sent him to Imola as Bishop in 1832, and announced his name as Cardinal in December, 1840." Vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

The course of the new Pope did not long remain doubtful. He limited the expenses of the Court at once, dispensed alms in abundance, set aside one day of each week for giving audiences, and commanded that political inquisitions should be stopped immediately. These few steps, taken before he had had time to consult with others, or even to reflect much on the duties of his new position, afford perhaps a better indication of the mild and kind character of the new Pontiff than the graver political acts which were subsequently performed. These show us the man, the others reveal only the sovereign. Just one month after his election, a manifesto of amnesty for all political offenders was published at Rome, including the exiles, those awaiting trial, and those undergoing sentence. The only condition annexed was, that the individuals pardoned should give their word of honor never to abuse the indulgence, and to fulfil every duty of a good citizen.

The news of this act flew like the wind through the Papal States, and caused everywhere a burst of exultation and gratitude towards the new sovereign. It carried joy to thousands

of households, bringing back to them the long-separated brother or parent, and it was a token of future peace and contentment. In the city, says Farini, the Hosannas were countless ; each citizen embraced his neighbor like a brother ; thousands of torches blazed in the evening ; the multitude ran to the palace of the Pope, called for him, threw themselves prostrate on the earth before him, and received his blessing in devout silence. Many of the pardoned offenders were still more extravagant in their demonstrations of joy and thankfulness. Among them was Galletti, of Bologna, afterwards one of the Pope's ministers, and most active in those measures which ended in the assassination of Rossi, and in driving Pius into exile. He had been sentenced to imprisonment for life, and was kept in the castle of Sant' Angelo. When released, he threw himself at the Pope's feet, and swore, by his own heart's blood and that of his children, that he would be grateful and faithful. Some of the exiles, however, among whom was Mamiani, refused to subscribe the proposed engagement, simple as it was ; but they returned after a time to their homes, merely promising allegiance. Every time that the Pope left his palace, he was surrounded by a sort of triumphal procession. The whole length of the Corso was decorated when he passed through it, and hundreds of likenesses of him, and of panegyrical compositions, covered the walls. Foremost in getting up these popular celebrations was Angelo Brunetti, afterwards so well known by his nickname of Ciceruacchio. " He was a person of single mind, rustic in manners, proud and at the same time generous, as is common with Romans of the lower class." By his industry he had acquired considerable property, and by his liberal use of it he had become a leader of the populace, whom he now fired with his own enthusiasm for Pius IX.

The Pope would have been more than man, if his head had not been a little turned with all this adulation, which came to him from many foreign lands as well as from Italy. But his simple and modest character bore the trial well ; he manifested no undue elation, and formed his plans tranquilly and without hurry for the improvement of his people. Cardinal Gizzi, well known as a friend to reform, and much attached to the Pope, was named Secretary of State ; and he wrote letters to the Presidents of provinces, inviting them, the

municipal magistrates, ecclesiastics, and all respectable citizens, to prepare and offer schemes for promoting popular education, and especially for the moral, religious, and industrial instruction of the children of the poor. Commissions were appointed to deliberate and advise upon many subjects of proposed reform. Great, indeed, was the need of change in the institutions of the Pontifical States; but the government had a delicate part to play in amending them, and it wisely determined not to be precipitate in its measures. "Already the Liberals had conceived boundless desires, and the Retrogradists were haunted with unreasonable fears. The government had, to-day, to moderate on the left, to-morrow, to reassure on the right; then, with fresh circular despatches, wellnigh to scold men for hoping too much." But the friends of change, says Farini, were, for the most part, measured in their wishes and cautious in their proceedings; for all prudent men were exerting themselves strenuously to keep the impatient in hand, with excellent effect.

We cannot follow in detail the Pope's measures down to March, 1848, till which period the movement may be considered as all his own, emanating from his free choice, and not from the pressure of outward circumstances, or from revolutions in foreign states. He did enough during these twenty months to establish his character as a wise, humane, and liberal sovereign, eager to promote the temporal and religious interests of his people, and prompt to give political power into their hands as fast as they showed themselves capable of using, and not abusing it. He instituted a Civic Guard throughout his dominions, modelled on the French National Guard, and disbanded the Gregorian Centurions and Volunteers. All his Court was opposed to this measure as premature and dangerous; and even Cardinal Gizzi resigned his place in consequence of it. But the Pope persevered, and Cardinal Ferretti, still more inclined to liberalism, was appointed in his place. He conceived the idea of an Italian Customs' League, after the model of the German one, and pressed it with so much earnestness that, in November, 1847, it was instituted for the Roman, Tuscan, and Sardinian dominions, and every effort was made to render it acceptable to the other powers of Italy. He established a municipal government for the city of Rome, which had hitherto re-

mained without one ; and he created a Council of State for all his dominions, to consist chiefly of the laity, one person being chosen for each Province by the sovereign, out of a list of three, nominated by the Provincial authorities. This Council was to sit in Rome, and aid the government with its advice in putting the various departments in order, in constituting municipalities, and in other public concerns. He created, also, a Council of Ministers, which Farini calls the most important act of his reign, "as being that by which the executive power acquired an organization worthy of a civilized state, and altogether novel in that of Rome." There were to be nine departments, and, with the exception of the President of the Council and its Secretary, "the Ministers *need not* be Cardinals." All those first appointed, however, were Cardinals or Prelates. A body of *Uditori* was attached to this Council, consisting of twelve ecclesiastics and twelve laymen, all appointed by the sovereign. The laws respecting the censorship of the press were much relaxed, and numerous political journals were established at Rome, which, before, had nothing that deserved the name of a newspaper. "Our infant journalism," says Farini, "had its infant passions and caprices ; instead of meditating, it gambolled, and every day it smashed its toys of the day before, as children do ; it instituted a school of declamation, not of political knowledge ; it ran and plunged about, blindfold ; it made boast of an independent spirit, and was a mean slave to out-of-doors influence."

These measures of reform, and the enthusiasm which they created, were not without effect on surrounding nations. Considering the place whence they came, and the sovereign who conducted them, they were adapted to have a vast influence. Rome, the Eternal City, was regenerated, and a new life bounded through her old limbs ; and the august Head of the Catholic Church, the greatest religious potentate of the civilized world, the infallible, the object of veneration to half Christendom, and hitherto the most despotic and conservative sovereign in Europe, was now the daring innovator, the radical, the idol of the populace. Austria looked on with distrust and dismay, and tried to pick a quarrel, and thus find a pretext for invasion, by ordering its troops, who had as yet only garrisoned the fortress, to occupy the city, of Ferrara, and patrol

its streets, — a measure almost sure to lead to a collision with its citizens. The Pope protested in a firm but temperate tone, and his indignant people would fain have hurried him into a war. But he bridled their impatience, and the matter ended in a compromise. Tuscany caught the generous flame of freedom; and though there was not so much to be accomplished there, as the government had long been mild and discreet, the good Archduke professed the utmost admiration for Pius, and began to imitate his measures. The king of Sardinia was moved to enthusiasm; during the difficulty with Austria about Ferrara, he offered the Pope whatever succor of ships or men he might need, and an asylum in his dominions, if he should be compelled to leave Rome. He did more; he relaxed the bonds of the press, improved the administration of justice, deprived the police of their discretionary power, enlarged and amended the Council of State, emancipated the communes, and allowed their officers to be chosen by popular vote. The character and example of Pius seemed likely to effect as great and as beneficial changes out of his dominions as within them. Those of the Italian sovereigns who were not willing to follow his lead of their own accord, were obliged to yield in dismay before the spirit which he had awakened in their subjects. The silly Duke of Lucca, a fanatic, a prodigal, and a despot, after attempting in vain to cudgel his people into submission, fled in terror from their aroused wrath, and consented to the annexation of his dominions to Tuscany, whereby they shared in the reforms instituted by Leopold.

But in Sicily and Naples were developed the most striking results of the fire which had been kindled by a reforming Pope. The cruel and imbecile Bourbon who reigns there only became more harsh and obstinate, while the other princes of Italy deemed it necessary to reform their institutions and conciliate their people. His subjects petitioned him, and shouted for Pius in the streets; but the soldiery were turned against them, and the king showed himself alike inaccessible to their caresses and their prayers. "One king only," said Thiers from the tribune, speaking of Italy, "he of Naples, presented the sword's point to the people who were flocking around him, and that people fell on it." The impulsive Sicilians fixed the 12th of January, 1848, as the day beyond

which their patience would not extend. The king made no concessions, the day came, and the island was revolutionized, the troops everywhere giving way before the excited populace. Within a fortnight the inhabitants of Naples followed their example ; and before the fight began, the king's heart failed him, and he granted all that they asked. The ministry were changed, a constitution was resolved upon, and its fundamental principles were announced on the 29th of January, while the administration pledged themselves to publish it complete within twelve days. The king came out to meet the crowd who were cheering him, and intimated his purpose to surpass the other sovereigns of Italy in the magnitude of his concessions. How sincere his promises were, the lapse of a few months fully showed ; but for the present, every thing wore a cheerful aspect.

We have now reached the climax of the Pope's fortunes, the farthest limit of the good which he was permitted to accomplish by his own free-will, and the sky begins to be overcast. The enthusiasm of his people began to be unmanageable, and the volcanic force of another French revolution was soon to burst, and to prostrate half the governments in Europe by the explosion. Constant excitement for twenty months had made Rome noisy and turbulent, and the populace had been gratified so often that they now expected every thing to succumb to their wishes. Busy agitators were in the midst of them, intent upon prosecuting the plans of Mazzini and Young Italy, and turning reform into revolution. The people were mad for a declaration of war against Austria, though the military strength of the Roman States was grossly inadequate for such a conflict, and the head of the Catholic Church was naturally reluctant to come to extremities with a Catholic power, which had long been the firmest support of the Papacy. Then a cry was raised to exclude all ecclesiastics from office, or at least to admit so large a portion of the laity into the administration, that Rome would be secularized, and lose its distinctive character as an appanage for the head of the Church. The people would not consider, or were reckless of the fact, that Pius was a devout Catholic as well as a liberal sovereign, and could not be expected to lend his aid to a project for stripping the Papacy of all temporal power, if not for razing it to its foundations. The cries of expulsion

and death to the Jesuits were also raised ; and as that body, however obnoxious elsewhere, had given no offence at Rome, where there was no scope for their machinations, the Pope's sense of justice inclined him to protect them, and to resist the unmeaning clamor of the mob.

The news from Sicily and Naples caused a great popular demonstration at Rome, the aspect of which was so threatening, that Pius issued a proclamation on the 10th of February, announcing that he had taken measures for reorganizing and enlarging the army, and for augmenting the lay portion of the Council of Ministers ; but appealing to his people in affecting terms, by the proofs already given of his solicitude in their behalf, that they should cease from agitation, and not make demands which could not be granted consistently with his duty and their own well being. This paper caused another effusion of popular gratitude ; an immense multitude collected in the Piazza del Papolo, and accompanied by the Civic Guard and by bands of music, and bearing banners, they set out for the Pope's palace. When they came to the Quirinal, Pius showed himself at the balcony, and made signs that he wished to speak. "There was a profound silence, not broken even by the trickling of the fountains, which had been stopped some days before." The Pope said, —

"Before the benediction of God descends upon you, on the rest of my people, and, I say it again, on all Italy, I pray you to be of one mind, and to keep the faith which you have sworn to me, the Pontiff."

"At these words, the silence of deep feeling was broken by a sudden thunder of acclamation, 'Yes, I swear,' and Pius proceeded : " —

"I warn you, however, against the raising of certain cries, that are not of the people, but of a few individuals, and against making any such requests to me as are incompatible with the sanctity of the Church ; for these I cannot, I may not, and I will not grant. This being understood, with my whole soul, I bless you."

Deeds followed words ; the ministry was changed, five laymen were admitted into it, and it was intimated that a Constitution would be granted resembling those in other states. Then came the news of the disastrous revolution at Paris, and every thing was precipitated. On the 10th of March, the

ministry was again changed, only three ecclesiastics being now admitted into it; and on the 14th, the new Constitution, or Fundamental Statute, was proclaimed. It instituted a legislature in two branches, the High Council and the Council of Deputies, the members of the former being appointed by the Pope, and those of the latter being chosen by popular vote, in the ratio, as nearly as might be, of one to every thirty thousand souls. All citizens were voters who paid twelve crowns a year in direct taxes, or had property amounting to 300 crowns; to these were added all members of colleges and honorary graduates, and all persons holding office in the communes and municipalities. The legislature was to be convoked every year, both Councils were to choose their own officers, and their sessions were to be public, except on extraordinary occasions, when they might of their own accord prefer secrecy. Freedom of debate and vote was guaranteed, and the members of both houses were protected from arrest, even for notoriously criminal acts, during the session, except by consent of the Council to which they belonged. They were to have authority to make laws on all subjects, excepting ecclesiastical matters and the canons and discipline of the Church, but including the imposition of taxes; the Pope, however, like most monarchs, reserved to himself the right of negating a law. All discussions, also, of the diplomatico-religious relations of the Holy See with foreign powers, were forbidden. Money bills were to originate in the lower house, and direct taxes could be granted for only one year. The Deputies had a right to impeach ministers, who, if they were laymen, were to be tried by the High Council, if ecclesiastics, by the Sacred College. The unlimited right of petition to the lower house was assured, and ministers were responsible for every ministerial act; they had the right of sitting and debating, but not of voting, in both Councils. A portion of the revenue of the state, for the support of the cardinals, the ecclesiastical congregations, and generally for the transaction of purely ecclesiastical business, was to be secured to the Pope, and to be borne on the estimates every year. The judges were to be irremovable after they had held office for three years; and all persons were declared equal in the sight of the law. Extraordinary Commissions or Tribunals for the trial of offences were abolished. All property, whether of individuals or cor-

porations, whether civil or ecclesiastical, was to be held subject to its equal part of the burdens of the state; and to all bills imposing taxes, the Pope would annex, of his own authority, a special waiver of the ecclesiastical exemption. The administrations of the Provinces and the Communes were placed in the hands of their respective inhabitants. The governmental or political censorship was abolished, but the ecclesiastical censorship was retained.

Such is a general outline of the Roman constitution spontaneously granted to his subjects by Pius IX. Its merits, in all civil or political matters, are certainly equal, if not superior, to those of the English constitution, from which, in great part, it was borrowed; its faults are precisely those which resulted necessarily from the Pope's double character, as temporal sovereign of the Roman States, and as Head of the Catholic Church throughout the world. It was not within the province, or at the discretion, of Pius, to alter the tenure by which he held his throne, to change the fundamental principles of the Church, or to abolish his ecclesiastical dominion. He granted to his subjects all that was in his power to grant as their temporal sovereign. His purely ecclesiastical relations and duties did not concern them, or concerned them only so far as they were members of the great body of Catholic believers in all lands. The College of Cardinals *must* choose the Pope, and *must* choose one of their own number; this is not a law of the Roman States, but a law of the Catholic Church. Pius could not abrogate it; and if he had been inclined to grant every thing to his people, by divesting himself of the last rag of his sovereignty, the only consequence would have been, that the Cardinals must have chosen another Pope in his place, who might undo all that Pius had accomplished.

These are obvious and necessary considerations; and the Pope expressly recognizes them in the ordinance accompanying the grant of the constitution. "We intend," he says, "to maintain intact our authority in matters that by their nature are related to the Catholic religion and its rule of morals. And this is due from us as a guaranty to the whole of Christendom, that, in the States of the Church reorganized in this new form, nothing shall be derogated from the liberties and rights of the Church herself, and of the Holy See, nor

any precedent be established for violating the sacredness of the religion which it is our duty and mission to preach to the whole world, as the only scheme of covenant between God and man, the only pledge of that heavenly benediction by which states subsist and nations flourish."

Now, it is worthy of note, that neither this Constitution, nor any of the acts of Pius under it, was ever complained of by any party among the Pope's subjects, except in regard to these ecclesiastical reservations, which were forced from him by the very nature of the office that he held. The constitutionalists, indeed, the moderate reformers, the party of Balbo, and Gioberti, and D'Azeglio, which comprised most of the educated and reflecting persons in the state, seem to have been entirely satisfied with it as a whole, or as it was. So also were the unthinking populace, who received it with shouts of exultation, so long as they were not moved by the arts of a party, who would not be satisfied with having a good Pope, but were bent upon having no Pope at all. This was the party of Mazzini, the revolutionists as distinguished from the reformers, — not strong at first either in numbers or credit, as we have seen, but who made up for all deficiencies by their zeal and activity, — who were determined to establish a republic, and who cared nothing for the embarrassments of the Pope's situation as head of the Church, or, indeed, for the Church itself. They complained, (and with reason, too, upon their principles,) of these ecclesiastical reservations; and they made out of them their chief weapon of attack upon the Pope's government, though they did not profit so much by the use of it, as by the evident unwillingness of Pius to rush into a war with Austria for the purpose of giving the sovereignty of Lombardy to Charles Albert, — a measure to which he was averse, because he thought such a conflict would be detrimental to the interests of the Church over which he presided.

The world's future judgment of Pius will depend upon its belief of the sincerity with which he acted in thus allowing nothing but his religious duties and his position as the head of the Church to limit his concessions of political privileges to his subjects. On this point, it is well to hear the opinion of Farini, who, as one of the Mamiani ministry, and as employed to mediate between them and the Pope, because

much loved and trusted by him, seems peculiarly qualified to form one without undue bias on either side.

“Pius IX. had applied himself to political reform, not so much for the reason that his conscience as an honorable man and a most pious sovereign enjoined it, as because his high view of the papal office prompted him to employ the temporal power for the benefit of his spiritual authority. A meek man and a benevolent prince, Pius IX. was, as a pontiff, lofty even to sternness. With a soul not only devout, but mystical, he referred every thing to God, and respected and venerated his own person as standing in God’s place. He thought it his duty to guard with jealousy the temporal sovereignty of the Church, because he thought it essential to the safe-keeping and the apostleship of the Faith. Aware of the numerous vices of that temporal government, and hostile to all vice and all its agents, he had sought, on mounting the throne, to effect those reforms which justice, public opinion, and the times required. He hoped to give lustre to the Papacy by their means, and so to extend and to consolidate the Faith. He hoped to acquire for the clergy that credit, which is a great part of the decorum of religion, and an efficient cause of reverence and devotion in the people. His first efforts were successful in such a degree, that no Pontiff ever got greater praise. By this he was greatly stimulated and encouraged, and perhaps he gave in to the seduction of applause and the temptations of popularity, more than is fitting for a man of decision, or for a prudent Prince. But when, after a little, Europe was shaken by universal revolution, the work he had commenced was in his view marred; he then retired within himself, and took alarm. In his heart, the Pontiff always came before the Prince, the Priest before the citizen; in the secret struggles of his mind, the pontifical and priestly conscience always outweighed the conscience of the priest and citizen. And as his conscience was a very timid one, it followed that his inward conflicts were frequent, that hesitation was a matter of course, and that he often took resolutions even about temporal affairs more from religious intuition or impulse, than from his judgment as a man. Add that his health was weak and susceptible of nervous excitement, the dregs of his old complaint. From this he suffered most, when his mind was most troubled and uneasy; another cause of wavering and changeableness.” Vol. ii. pp. 68, 69.

“Where he did not foresee or suspect injury to religion, he was in accordance with the friends of change. But every thing disturbed his mind and soul, which impugned or gave any token of impugning it, or imported disparagement to spiritual discipline or persons. And if from his vacillating nature, and his inborn

mildness, he did not adopt strong resolutions, which would have been proof of his uneasy thoughts and feelings, yet they wrought on him in secret, and he had no peace till he could find some way to set his conscience at ease. He had fondled the idea of making the people happy with guarded freedom, in harmony with their sovereigns, of bringing both into harmony with the Papal See, of a Popedom presiding over the league of Italian States ; of internal repose and agreement ; of civilizing prosperity, and of splendor for religion. But events, as they proceeded from day to day, shattered this design. When in the name of freedom and of Italy, and by the acts of the innovators, priests were insulted, excesses perpetrated, the Popedom or the ecclesiastical hierarchy assailed, Pius IX. ceased to trust them ; then he began to regret and repent of his own work ; then he doubted, whether by his mildness and liberality he had not encouraged a spirit irreverent to the Church, rebellious to the Popedom ; then he complained of the ingratitude of mankind, faltered in his political designs, and prognosticated calamity." Vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

Under the pressure of the extraordinary occurrences throughout Europe early in the spring of 1848, the Pope's new ministry under the Constitution proceeded vigorously and rapidly to give full development and efficiency to that instrument. They also expressed the wish for a firm union of the constitutional thrones of Italy with each other, with a view to insuring her independence ; and they ordered the Papal banners to be decorated with pennons of the Italian tricolor. On the 21st of March, the news of the revolution at Vienna, much magnified by report, arrived, and the excitement of the Roman populace knew no bounds.

" Every bell in the city pealed for joy ; from palace and from hovel, from magazine and workshop, the townspeople poured in throngs into the streets and squares ; some took to letting off firearms, some to strewing flowers, some hoisted flags on the towers, some decked with them their balconies ; everybody was shouting ' Italia ! Italia ! ' and cursing the Empire. In an access of fury, the Austrian arms were torn down, dashed to pieces, and befouled amidst the applause of the crowd, and in spite of the dissuasion of the public functionaries and of prudent persons."

Vol. ii. p. 7.

The hostility to the Jesuits now threatened to break out into violence ; and for the double purpose of protecting them and appeasing the passions of the mob, the Pope consented that the schools which they had superintended should

be given into other hands, that their associations should be disbanded, and they should be exiled.

“The government perhaps had no choice, so swiftly and impetuously did the torrent of popular commotion roll. I will not then affirm, that the Pope and the government ought to have exposed to the last hazard the security of the State for an ineffectual defence of a hated fraternity. What I wish to observe is, that if there were, among the Jesuits, men stained with guilt and mischievous plotters, they ought to have been watched and punished as bad citizens; but it was incompatible with propriety or justice to condemn and punish a religious association, as such, in a place where the Pope held both his own seat and the supreme authority of the Church. None but the Pope had the power to condemn the society as a whole, and no condemnation but his could be just or valid in the opinion and conscience of the Catholics, or produce the desired political effects.” Vol. ii. p. 19.

On the same day that the Jesuits were expelled, the Pope issued a noble proclamation, breathing the best spirit of religion. We annex a portion of it.

“Pius Papa IX., to the People of the States of Italy, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

“The events which the last two months have witnessed, following and thronging one another in such rapid succession, are no work of man. Woe to him that does not discern the Lord’s Voice in this blast that agitates, uproots, and rends the cedar and the oak! Woe to the pride of man, if he shall refer these marvellous changes to any human merit or any human fault, instead of adoring the hidden designs of Providence, whether manifested in the paths of His justice, or of His mercy; or of that Providence, in whose hands are all the ends of the earth. And we, who are endowed with speech in order to interpret the dumb eloquence of the works of God, we cannot be mute, amidst the longings, the fears, and the hopes, which agitate the minds of our children.

“And first, it is our duty to make known to you, that if our heart has been moved at hearing how, in a part of Italy, the consolations of religion have preceded the perils of battle, and nobleness of mind has been displayed in works of charity, we nevertheless could not and cannot but greatly grieve over the injuries which, in other places, have been done to the Ministers of that same religion,—injuries which, even if, contrary to our duty, we were silent concerning them, our silence could not hinder from impairing the efficacy of our benedictions.

“Neither can we refrain from telling you that to use victory well is a greater and more difficult achievement, than to be victorious. If the present day recalls to you any other period of your history, let the children profit by the errors of their forefathers. Remember that all stability and all prosperity has its main earthly ground in concord; that it is God alone who maketh of one mind them that dwell in a house; that he grants this reward only to the humble and the meek, to those who respect His laws, in the liberty of His Church, in the order of society, in charity toward all mankind.” Vol. ii. pp. 21, 22.

Shortly afterwards, another measure, emanating entirely from the Pope, and opposed by the prejudices of the mob, showed that his humane and liberal disposition and enlightened understanding waited for no impulse from without, and for no hope of increased popularity, before doing justice to a long oppressed race.

“The friends of social progress were highly gratified by the decision of Pius IX. to raze in Rome the walls and gates which shut up the Jews in the Ghetto. He had already, at the commencement of his Pontificate, softened some of the rigors with which they were afflicted, and had directed that they might spread beyond that ignominious precinct; nor, however great was the outcry about it among the mob, did he at any time forego the idea of bettering the condition of the followers of the Mosaic law.

“He was disposed to give them civil rights; and if he did not think of extending his concessions even to political privileges, yet he would give this as the main reason for it, that, in a constitutional country, every one who enjoys them may rise to the highest stages of power; whereas a Pope could not have any save Catholic Ministers. In the mean time, he raised them out of the abjectness of their isolation, although the Roman vulgar censured him for it bitterly, most of all because it took effect in the Holy Week. When it was known in the city, that the walls and fastenings of the Ghetto were to be pulled down at night, by order of the Cardinal Vicar, Ciceruacchio hastened with his companions, or subjects, to share in the work; and they shared in it so largely, that it seemed as though the thing were effected more as their boon than by the will of the Pope. Pius IX. was vexed at this; whether because noise had been made about what he wanted done quietly, or because it was brought about in such a manner, that it might seem the popular party had had more to say to it, than the authority of the Head of Religion.”

Vol. ii. pp. 91, 92.

Rome fully shared the enthusiasm which was awakened throughout Italy by the entrance of the Piedmontese troops into Lombardy, and by the announcement by Charles Albert that he had drawn the sword in the sacred cause of Italian independence. His proclamation, in the stilted phrase common to such state papers, declared that he relied upon "the assistance of that God who is visibly with us; of that God who has given Pius IX. to Italy; of that God who, by such wondrous impulses, has placed her in a condition to act for herself."

And if she had acted for herself, if her deeds had been commensurate with her glorious words, the Austrian would never again have trodden any portion of the peninsula with the step of a master. But the zeal of the Italians for independence seems all to evaporate in high sounding manifestoes, and in a few excesses of the populace in the great cities. The inactivity of the Italian sovereigns may be explained by their imputed treachery or lukewarmness in the cause. But what prevented the people themselves from crowding the camp of Charles Albert with volunteers, at a time when not a crowned head in Italy durst offer the least open opposition to such a movement? The king of Naples, sorely against his will, sent his regular army, consisting of about 14,000 men, to fight for the cause, and withdrew them in about six weeks, as soon as a base act of treachery had given him the victory at home. General Pepe, their commander, wished to disobey the order and move forward; but "nearly the whole army turned its back on the Po and on him, and moved backward in the direction of the Neapolitan kingdom." Two hundred volunteers had previously set out from Naples for upper Italy, under the guidance and at the expense of an enthusiastic woman, the Princess Belgioioso.

"She had lived as an exile in France, and was at first enthusiastic for the *Giovine Italia*; she afterwards became averse to it, and sided with Guizot, Duchatel, and Mignet, her intimate friend. She was greatly versed, or mixed herself much, in literature, politics, the study of theology, and journalism; a woman that had some of the feelings and anxieties of men, together with all those of her own sex, and who was now travelling through Italy, intent upon manly business, but after woman's fashion. Other volunteers afterwards started, and a vessel set sail for Leghorn, which carried them, along with the tenth regiment of the line." Vol. ii. p. 32.

The Sicilians, at the same time, determined to separate entirely from Naples and the rest of the peninsula ; “and thus all the ability and spirit, the arms and wealth, of that powerful island were applied to the effort for insular independence, and drawn off from that for the independence of the nation.” From Tuscany, there went to this national war “about three thousand volunteers, and perhaps as many more regulars ;” — a number so small that Farini apologizes for it, and endeavors to prove that it ought “not to be imputed to any lukewarmness in the affection for Italy.” The army from the Roman States, which the Pope had set on foot, but hoped to retain as a defensive force within the northern boundary of his dominions, numbered about 16,000, of whom rather more than half were volunteers. The conduct of the people of Lombardy, who, though the conflict raged on their own soil, and their own freedom was immediately at stake, wasted their strength in quarrelling with each other instead of succoring Charles Albert, has long been a topic of wonder and censure. In short, all Italy did not furnish for this sacred war, so long the object of her aspirations and her prayers, a body of volunteers one fourth as large as the army which the king of Sardinia brought into the field, though it is probable that he was moved from the first only by the hope of personal aggrandizement. He invaded Lombardy with an army of 55,000 men, expecting thereby to win, with the aid of the national enthusiasm, the sceptre of all Italy for himself and his descendants. A terrible disappointment awaited him ; instead of glory, shame and defeat were his portion ; and having abdicated his paternal throne in despair, he died in exile, literally of a broken heart. Pius IX. was hardly more fortunate ; to him, also, this fatal war brought dishonor and exile, the loss of the affection of his subjects, and of the admiration of the civilized world.

The reluctance of the Pope to engage, when unprovoked, in a war with Austria is no cause for wonder. He earnestly desired the welfare of his people and the independence of his native land ; but all his desires were subject to the interests of the Church, of which he was the recognized head throughout Christendom. The republicans in his dominions, including Mazzini and his party, were aware of this reluctance, and determined to make use of it, and of the passions of the

people, in order to get rid of him altogether. No opportunity was lost to compromise him in the war, both in his temporal and ecclesiastical character; and the misfortune of his twofold position did not allow him to resist these machinations with success. General Durando, the commander of the Papal forces, issued a flaming proclamation to his army when they passed the Po, announcing to them that their swords were blessed by the venerable Head of the Church, and that they should all wear the cross on their bosoms, as beseemed those who were engaged in a holy war. This act naturally gave great uneasiness to the Pope, and Farini censures it as an unwise attempt to obtain the sanctions of religion for merely political objects, — the very conduct which the Liberal party had previously censured in their opponents. If Italian minds, he argues, “were not capable of warming with the simple fire of patriotism, for the noble and even holy enterprise of liberating Italy from the stranger, it was vain to hope that hearts so frozen up in indifference could kindle with religious faith.”

“In the mean time, the Germans, who were speculating about the unity of their own stock and nation, and were straining every nerve in that difficult enterprise, could not excuse the desire of independence in the Italians, and contended for the boasted rights of Austria and Germany over the lands and the coasts of Italy, with the people that inhabit them. When it became known in Germany that the Pontifical troops were hastening to the legitimate defence of Italy, it greatly affected the public feeling, and the name of Pius IX. was branded with censure, not by laymen only, but by some bishops and high ecclesiastics. Monsignor Viale, Nuncio at Vienna, and Monsignor Sacconi, Nuncio at Munich, were assiduous and eager in detailing the sinister reports touching Rome and the Pope, and colored them in such a way as to create an apprehension of schism, the most serious one that could arise for a Pope, and that Pope, too, Pius IX. He had, before this, as I have said, been greatly troubled by the proclamation of General Durando; still he had hoped, that the Italian League would be shortly concluded, and that, when he had furnished the quota of troops that might be due from him as a temporal sovereign, he would then have been able, in the capacity of Pontiff, to use those good offices which he considered requisite to assure the consciences of Catholics.” Vol. ii. pp. 93, 94.

Even the news of some reverses to the Italian arms in Lombardy failed to awaken a proper feeling among the inhabitants

of central and southern Italy ; and our patriotic author thus censures the slothfulness and vanity of his countrymen.

“Few gave credit or importance at the time to this and other sinister intelligence ; the greater part of those who beheld the first marvellous smiles of fortune relied upon the star of Italy, and thought the Empire was dismembered. We Italians are too susceptible of the impulses of passion, and of heat in the imagination ; with a small matter we are drunken, and think to leap over the moon. Deadly intoxication, most deadly fault, that of undervaluing an enemy, which lets our enthusiasm too easily evaporate, and gives him every facility for showing that he is as gallant as we are, and more resolute ; that he has much of perseverance and of discipline, qualities more effectual and valuable than simple courage. It comes to this ; we must either send about their business the dreams of poets, and educate ourselves in those severe and masculine virtues, or must yet remain long in a position to chant many more elegies to assuage our sorrow than hymns of triumph ; we must either rest assured that with the tenacious, the disciplined, and the resolute, only the tenacious, disciplined, and resolute can cope, and must therefore leave off despising the Austrians, and imitate them in their steadiness and their attention to the military spirit ; or else, we must be doomed to the disgrace of seeing them masters of our country. A stern truth ; but the only one that an Italian freeman can utter to Italians free in mind. He who wants compliments and adulation may fling these volumes from him.” Vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

The ministry at Rome, driven onward by the popular clamor, represented to the Pope in strong terms the necessity of sending orders to his army to take an active part in the war ; for they had not yet commenced hostilities with the Austrians. A Consistory of the Cardinals was to be held on the 29th of April ; and it was feared that Pius would take that occasion for declaring that he was averse to the war, and thus pacifying the minds of the Catholics in Germany. The Allocution of the Pope realized these fears, though it only expressed his wish to remain neutral, and “to embrace all kindreds, peoples, and nations with equal solicitude of paternal affection.” But the ministry resigned in consequence, and great disturbances arose in the city ; the populace were not willing themselves to volunteer for the war, but they were determined that the Pope should not continue a man of peace. The Civic Guard were placed under arms, but it was soon found that they shared the feelings of the people,

and no reliance could be placed upon them. Threats were uttered of assassinating the Cardinals, and others cried out "to make short work, as they called it, with the government of the priests, those traitors to Italy, and to place Rome under popular sway." To avert bloodshed, the Pope consented to a compromise; he gave up the entire direction of his troops to Charles Albert, and published, of his own accord, without the knowledge of his ministers, an affecting remonstrance to his people. We copy a portion of it.

"All are aware of the words pronounced by us in our last Allocution, namely, that we are averse to declaring war; but at the same time, we avow our inability to restrain the ardor of that portion of our subjects, which is stirred by the spirit of nationality in common with the rest of Italy. And here we will not withhold from you, that, even under these circumstances, we have not forgotten the prayers of a father and sovereign, and have provided, in the mode we thought most effectual, for the greatest attainable security to those of our children and subjects, who now, without our will, find themselves exposed to the vicissitudes of war. Our words above-mentioned have, however, given rise to a commotion which threatens to break out into acts of violence, and which, not even respecting personal inviolability, and trampling on every right, attempts, (O great God, our heart is frozen in uttering it!) to bathe the streets of the capital of the Catholic world in the blood of venerable individuals, marked out for victims, guiltless as they are, to satiate the ungovernable thirst of those who will not hear to reason. And is this then, the reward that a Sovereign Pontiff was to expect for the multiplied indications of his love towards his people? *Popule meus, quid feci tibi?* Do not these unhappy beings perceive, that, besides the enormous crime with which they would be stained, and the incalculable scandal they would give to the whole world, they would only injure the cause they make pretensions to conduct, while filling Rome, these States, and all Italy with an infinite train of evils? And in these or the like contingencies, (which may God avert!) how could the spiritual power, that he has given us, remain idle in our hands? Let all know, once for all, that we are conscious of the greatness of our office and the efficacy of our power.

"Preserve, O Lord, thine own Rome from such catastrophes! enlighten those who will not hearken to the voice of thy Vicar! reclaim all to a sounder mind! so that, in obedience to their ruler, they may spend their days the more happily in the discharge of their duties as good Christians, without which they cannot be either good subjects or good citizens." Vol. ii. pp. 123, 124.

Pius also wrote an earnest letter to the Emperor of Austria, entreating him to put a stop to the war by acknowledging the independence of Venetia and Lombardy. "Let not the generous German nation take it ill," he said, "if we invite them to lay resentment aside, and to convert into the beneficial relations of friendly neighborhood a domination which could never be prosperous or noble while it depended solely on the sword." But the prayers of the Pope had now little influence either with the Emperor or with his own subjects; he had long ago forfeited the favor of the absolutists by his political reforms, and he had now lost the love of his people by his reluctance to gratify their passion for war. Yet if he had basely yielded to their wishes, against his judgment and his conscience, he would only have injured the cause of the Papacy in foreign lands, and the issue of the war would not have been changed. As it was, his troops were actively engaged in the contest till the time of their capture at Vicenza by the Austrians. The fatal blow was given to the hopes of Italy by the king of Naples withdrawing his troops at a critical moment, when their loss could not be replaced. Their departure, and the consequent capture of the Papal army under Durando at Vicenza, enabled the Austrians to turn their whole force against the Piedmontese, who were then defeated and driven back. The disgraceful capitulation at Milan followed, and the cause of United Italy was lost forever. Brilliant as its promise had been at the outset, the revolution of 1848 terminated as pitifully as did those of 1820 and 1831; and for its disastrous issue, the Italians have none to blame but themselves.

Misfortunes and defeat had their usual effect in inflaming the rage of parties. The personal influence of the Pope could no longer keep the passions of the citizens in check, and the clubs now governed Rome with absolute sway. The party of Mazzini, bent on trying the experiment of a republic at all hazards, began to show its head after a long period of inefficiency and discouragement, and every day acquired new adherents and stronger influence. One ministry after another tried in vain to steer the ship of state on an even course, between the opposite perils of the domination of a mob and the rigorous enforcement of the laws. The Pope tried for some months the experiment of a popular administration,

under Mamiani, of whom our author says, "he seemed to play the part of a tribune of the people more than of the Pope's minister." Still, he was an honest man, opposed to violence, to tumult, and to all excesses, though he paid too much deference to the clubs, which were now as turbulent and mischievous as their Parisian prototypes. The acts of his ministry were not numerous, Farini says, for the character of the times would not admit of dispassionate inquiries and solid reforms. In truth, the energies of government were exhausted in a vain attempt to keep the peace in the city, which was now a constant scene of turbulence and disorder. Bologna, also, having successfully repelled an unauthorized attack made upon it by the Austrians under Welden, had become a prey to the wildest confusion, owing to the continuance there of the irregular bands of armed men who had contributed to its defence. At the urgent request of the Bolognese deputies, the ministry determined to send thither one of their own number, to aid in restoring order; and Farini, the author of these volumes, was deputed for this purpose. The following is a portion of his account of what he saw there, and what he accomplished.

"In the streets and open places of the city, for two days, the brigands had been slaughtering every man his enemy among the Government officers, some of them indeed disreputable and sorry fellows, others respectable. They killed with musket-shots, and if the fallen gave signs of life, they reloaded their arms in the sight of the people and the soldiers, and fired them afresh, or else put an end to their victims with their knives. They hunted men down like wild beasts, entered their houses, and dragged them forth to slaughter. One Bianchi, an inspector of police, was lying in bed, reduced to agony by consumption; they came in, set upon him, and cut his throat in the presence of his wife and children; the corpse, a frightful spectacle, remained in the public streets. I saw it, saw death dealt about, and the abominable chase. Cardinal Amat, who had given notice of his arrival, came the day after; and the armed commons escorted him to the palace, at the very time when the villains were continuing their murders. There were no longer any judges, or any officers of the police; those who had escaped death either had fled or had hidden themselves; the Civic Guard was disarmed, the citizens skulked, the few soldiers of the line either mixed with the insurgents, or were wholly without spirit; the Carabineers and dragoons in hesitation, the volunteer legions and free corps

a support to the rioters, not to the authority of Government. We sent to Rome for leave to declare Bologna in a state of siege ; but the answer was, that the ministry, having taken the opinion of the Council of State considered that order might be restored without recourse to this extreme measure. All our best exertions were made to draw to the side of Government the Carabineers and dragoons, as also Bellezzi and the honest leaders of the people, but with little success. It was reported, that Bellezzi himself had given leave to kill those whom they called the spies ; one Masina came before us, proposing, by way of compromise, to banish those whose lives were threatened ; armed men were in the very palace of Government, and we ourselves at their mercy. Accident, however, effected at a stroke what we could only have done slowly and with difficulty. An assassin attempted the life of a Carabineer ; his companions, inflamed with anger, pursued him, and caught him in a church. They then volunteered their most resolute efforts at repression. They were ordered to sally forth, arrest, and disarm the ruffians. The dragoons seconded them ; young Pepoli, commandant of the Civic Guard, mustered a few companies ; Bianchetti and the respected citizens of the Committee of Public Safety drew close around us, and we hurried in the Swiss from Forli. The population began to regain its courage, and to applaud the Carabineers as they arrested the assassins ; the Swiss made their entry amid cheers." Vol. ii. pp. 335, 336.

The disturbances at Bologna were quelled ; but the bonds of law and order throughout the Papal States were now loosened, and it became evident that a more determined minister must be placed at the helm, or the experiment of the existing form of government must be abandoned in despair. A republic or a return to the old principles of despotism would then be inevitable. In this emergency, the eyes of the Pope and of all prudent persons at Rome were turned to Rossi, who, since the fall of Louis Philippe's government, from which he had been ambassador to the Roman States, had resided there as a private citizen, taking no active share in politics, but often consulted by both parties, owing to his high reputation for sagacity and firmness. Exiled on account of his liberal opinions by Gregory, he had laid the foundations of his fame at Paris, where he successively became professor, peer, and ambassador, and was highly esteemed by all parties as a writer and a statesman. Once before, Pius had solicited him to form a ministry ; but he had declined, because con-

scious that the affections of the populace were not with him, and he judged that the minds even of the better portion of the citizens were not yet prepared for a resolute attempt to carry on a constitutional government by firm measures. He suggested to the Pope that he was probably odious to the Court, on account of his previous employments and his writings ; that some would perhaps look very coldly on a minister who had married a Protestant wife ; and that the French Republic might be displeased if he should hold a high post at Rome. But in the middle of September, the solicitations of the Pope and of many respectable persons in the state became so urgent, that Rossi consented to serve ; the opinion was universal, that no other person possessed the requisite abilities, character, and experience to carry on the government at this perilous crisis ; and that, if he failed, all indeed was lost. He selected for his colleagues men of liberal politics, but temperate in their opinions. He announced his intention to carry into effect the Fundamental Statute, in all its parts, according to constitutional usage ; to counteract and repress both the parties opposed to that instrument ; to abolish exemptions, restore the finances, and reorganize the army ; to conclude a league with Piedmont and Tuscany, even if it should be impossible with Naples ; and to fix the contingent of troops which the Pope was to supply, so that he need not in any other way mingle with the war.

The turbulent and the presumptuous, “the magistrates accustomed to fatten upon abuses, the Sanfedists who made a livelihood of disorder, and the clergymen greedy of gold and honors, could ill bear that Pelligrino Rossi should have the authority of a minister.” But those who knew the real condition of affairs, and that, unless the finances were improved and public discipline and order restored, all would go to wreck, counted it great gain that he should take charge of the debilitated State. “The dissatisfied were more numerous and noisy in the capital ; the contented stronger in the provinces, especially at Bologna, where an educated community wished for a liberal system, with a government strong in the strength of the law ; where the recent terrible events had filled every mind with horror ; and where Rossi, the proscribed of 1815, was dear to memory, and rooted in public esteem.”

The Roman legislature was to meet again in the middle of

November, so that the new minister was chiefly occupied with maturing the measures which were to be laid before it for adoption. His public acts, therefore, were few ; but they were enough to show that new wisdom and vigor directed the course of affairs. He obtained the Pope's consent that the clergy should make a new contribution of two millions of crowns to the State, on the strength of which he obtained a new loan, and punctually paid the interest on the public debt. He invited General Zucchi home from Switzerland, to take the command of the army, which rapidly improved in discipline under his energetic guidance. He distributed medals to those who had been wounded, and to the families of the slain, at Vicenza. He established two lines of telegraph, one to Ferrara by the way of Bologna, and another to Civita Vecchia. The negotiations with Sardinia and Tuscany for an Italian League were advanced nearly to completion. Chairs of political economy and commercial law were founded in the universities at Rome and Bologna. Towards the close of October, the mob rose in Rome, on occasion of a squabble between a Jew and a Catholic, and threatened to sack the Ghetto and maltreat its inhabitants. Rossi hurried the Civic Guard and the Carabineers to the spot, allayed the tumult, arrested and imprisoned some of its ringleaders, and published an energetic proclamation to warn the turbulent that the laws would be enforced.

"All these proceedings excited the anger of Rossi's enemies, the journalists, the captains of the people, and the Roman clubs." There was no opprobrium that was not heaped upon him, no charge that was not levelled at the government. But these declamations seemed to have little effect on the body of the people. On the morning of the 15th of November, when the legislature was to commence its session, though knots of persons were seen talking in the streets with excited countenances, there was no outbreak or popular tumult. Rossi had received many anonymous letters, in which his life was threatened, but he scorned to take any notice of them. This morning, one came which directly affirmed that he would be assassinated in the course of the day ; and he threw it into the fire. The regulation of the police, now that the day of the session had arrived, belonged to the President of the Council of Deputies ; and Rossi, punctilious in the observance of the

constitution, refused to give them any orders. Several of his friends came and remonstrated with him against such an exposure of his life. "To all this he answered, that he had taken the measures which he thought suitable for keeping the seditious in order, and that he could not, on account of risk that he might personally run, forego repairing to the Council according to his duty ; that perhaps these were idle menaces ; but if any one thirsted for his blood, he would have the means of shedding it elsewhere on some other day, even if, on that day, he should lose his opportunity. He would therefore go." He was elated by the confidence which the Pope had in him, and expected both trust and aid from the Parliament, to which he was so soon to explain his ideas and intentions.

"When the ordinary hour of the parliamentary sitting, which was about noon, arrived, the people began to gather in the Square of the *Cancellaria*, and by degrees in the court-yard, and then in the public galleries of the hall. Shortly all were full. A battalion of the Civic Guard was drawn up in the Square ; in the court and hall, there was no guard greater than ordinary. There were, however, not a few individuals, armed with their daggers, in the dress of the volunteers returned from *Vicenza*, and wearing the medals with which the municipality of Rome had decorated them. They stood close together, and formed a line from the gate up to the staircase of the palace. Sullen visages were to be seen, and ferocious imprecations heard, among them. During the time when the Deputies were slowly assembling, and business could not commence, because there was not yet a *quorum* present, a cry for help suddenly proceeded from the extremity of the public gallery, on which every one turned thither a curious eye ; but nothing more was heard or seen, and those who went to get some explanation of the circumstances returned without success.

"In the mean time, Rossi's carriage entered the court of the palace. He sat on the right, and Righetti, Deputy-Minister of Finance, on the left. A howl was raised in the court and yard, which echoed even into the hall of the Council. Rossi got out first, and moved briskly, as was his habit in walking, across the short space which leads from the centre of the court to the staircase on the left hand. Righetti, who descended after him, remained behind, because the persons were in the way who caused the outcry, and who, brandishing their cutlasses, had surrounded Rossi, and were loading him with opprobrium. At this moment might be seen amidst the throng the flash of a poniard, and then

Rossi losing his feet, and sinking to the ground. Alas! he was spouting blood from a broad gash in the neck. He was raised by Righetti, but could hardly hold himself up, and did not articulate a syllable; his eyes grew clouded, and his blood spirted in a copious jet. Some of those, whom I named as clad in military uniform, were above upon the stairs; they came down, and formed a ring about the unhappy man; and when they saw him shedding blood and half lifeless, they all turned, and rejoined their companions. He was borne, amidst his death struggle, into the apartments of Cardinal Gazzoli, at the head of the stairs on the left side; and there, after a few moments, he breathed his last.

"In the hall of the Council, a kind of stir had been perceptible since that cry for help was heard, and since the din which had risen from below; when some Deputies were seen to enter, with countenances expressive of horror, and others, who were physicians or surgeons, such as Fabbri, Fusconi, Pantaleoni, to go out in haste; at the same time, a report ran round the galleries, that Rossi had been wounded. Each man then began to question his neighbor with ears intent, and by look and gesture seek for information; one hurriedly goes out, another as hurriedly comes in; one mounts from hall to gallery, another descends from gallery to hall; the uncertainty still continues, the breathlessness is prolonged; some give the lie to the fatal rumor, others again declare the Minister not to be wounded only, but dead. Some of those present rose to demand an account of what had happened, and a reason for the stir; to which a Deputy replied, they could not tell; then, after a while, the President Sturbinetti takes the chair, and though scarcely twenty-five Deputies were present, orders the minutes of the last sitting to be read. A low buzz may now be heard; the Secretary begins to read, the Deputies stand unheeding and absorbed, or go forth; the galleries grow thin, and soon the hall is void and mute. Not one voice was raised to protest before God and man against the enormous crime! Was this from fear? Some have thought to term it prudence; by foreign nations it is named disgrace.

"I was no longer a Deputy at the time, but, as an eye-witness to the facts, I can now speak the truth with a mind free from prejudice of whatever kind. Possibly it was terror, disguised as prudence, and whitewashed with imperturbability, in him who desired the record of the last sitting to be read. There was no legal meeting; no motion could be made; the few Deputies, taken by surprise and incensed, almost all went out on the instant, prompted with sympathy for Rossi, whom they thought wounded, but not dead. One worthless voice alone was heard to cry, 'Why all this fuss? one would think he was king of Rome.' Truly,

some other voice might have cried, 'Out upon such infamy!' and shame it was, that no such voice was heard.

"In leaving the palace of the *Cancellaria*, one met some faces stark with an hellish joy, others pallid with alarm, many townspeople standing as if petrified, agitators running this way and that, Carabineers the same; one kind of men might be heard, muttering imprecations on the assassin, but the generality faltered, in broken and doubtful accents; some, horrible to relate, cursed the murdered man. Yes, I have still before my eyes the livid countenance of one, who, as he saw me, shouted, 'So fare the betrayers of the people!' But the city was in the depths of gloom, as under the swoop of calamity and the scourge of God; and wherever there were respectable persons, though of liberal and Italian principles, they were horror-struck, and called for the resolute exertions of the authorities." Vol. ii. pp. 405, 409.

When the terrible news came to the Pope, he was struck with horror and dismay, but yet strove to rally the other members of the government around him, and preserve the state from anarchy. But his efforts were miserably seconded; one person after another declined taking office, or continuing in it; and even when the Presidents of the two Councils were summoned, they had little advice to give. On the morrow, the tidings came that a mob was on its way towards the Quirinal, some of the Carabineers having fraternized with them, to enforce the appointment of a democratic ministry, and a declaration in favor of a Constituent Assembly for all Italy. Only a few Swiss, the ordinary guard of honor, were on duty; but they shut the gates of the palace, and nobly declared that their own bodies should be piled up behind them before the rioters should enter. Galletti, the former minister of police, acted as spokesman of the mob, and when admitted to an audience, he stated their demands. The Pope indignantly declared that he would not yield to violence, but must deliberate in freedom. This answer only inspired the insurgents with fresh fury, so that they pressed forward to the gates, set one of them on fire, and, mounting upon the roofs of the neighboring houses, opened a fire upon the walls and windows of the Quirinal. The few Swiss fired in return; and then the cry ran through the city that the Pope's guards were butchering the people, and already there were many slain. Within the palace, many advised Pius to yield, a few still spoke of resistance, and the foreign ministers, who were

collected there, had no scheme to offer. "The scuffle continues; the worthy prelate, Monsignor Palma, falls dead by the window of his own apartment; balls reach the ante-chamber of the Pope." At last, Pius turned to the diplomatic body, who stood around him, and said, "There is no further hope in resistance. Already a prelate is slain in my very palace, shots are aimed at it, artillery levelled. To avoid fruitless bloodshed, and increased enormities, we give way; but it is, as you see, only to force. Therefore we protest; let the Courts, let your Governments, know it. We give way to violence alone, and all we concede is invalid, is null and void." Galletti was then asked to propose his list of ministers, from which the Pope indignantly struck out the name of the Neapolitan Salicetti, but admitted without a word the names of Sterbini, Lunati, and Galletti. Their appointment was signed on the spot, and the news being told to the insurgents, "they fired their muskets in token of joy, and went off with hymns for Italy, and cheers for the Italian Constituent Assembly and the democratic ministry."

The next day, the club desired that the Swiss should be deprived of their arms, and dismissed from the Quirinal; the Pope complied. The Club then asked that Galletti should be named General of the Carabineers; and he was appointed. "Such was the poltroonery, or such the depravity, of consciences, that no journal would, or dared, denounce the murder. But why do I speak of denouncing? The murder was honored with illuminations and festivities in numerous cities, and not in these States only, but beyond them; especially at Leghorn." The Councils met on the 18th and 20th, but not a word was said of the murder, and even a proposition for giving assurance to the Pope "of the devotion and unalterable affection of the Deputies" was voted down. Three of the Bolognese Deputies, and a few others, then indignantly resigned their seats, and assigned their reasons for this step in addresses to their constituents.

Early on the night of the 25th, the Pope secretly left the Quirinal, entered a carriage prepared for him by the wife of the Bavarian ambassador, and went into exile from that city which, within two years and a half, had worshipped, scorned, and assaulted him.